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uninhabited hill country. Communications by pack horse road are slow and rough, and as the transport of goods by this means becomes expensive for any considerable distance, each valley lives as far as possible off its own produce. In sharp contrast to this economic "autarky" the whole country is politically unified, being a province of the Chinese Republic and entirely subject to the authority of the provincial government in Yunnanfu (K'un Ming). The province is sub-divided into *hsien*, or Districts, somewhat smaller than an English county, and the area occupied by the Min Chia can be defined politically as the eight Districts of Ta Li, Feng Yi (Chao chou), Teng Ch'uan, Erh Yuan, Chien Ch'uan, Ho Ch'ing, Lan P'ing and Yun Lung. The area east of the lake falls partly within the jurisdiction of Pin Ch'uan, which is not mainly a Min Chia district, and similarly the districts of Lan P'ing and Yun Lung to the west contain areas not inhabited by Min Chia. The political boundaries do not follow racial limits, being based on geographical features.

It is more than six centuries since the conquest of the kingdom of Nan Chao by Kubla Khan, Emperor of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, brought western Yunnan into the Chinese Empire, where it has since remained in spite of the changes of dynasty which followed. To what extent the kingdom of Nan Chao, which had its capital at Ta Li, can be described as a Min Chia kingdom will be discussed in a later chapter; here all that need be said is that it is certain that the inhabitants of the Ta Li plain, the Min Chia, were not barbarians at the time of the Chinese conquest, and this fact differentiates them from most of the other tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia are rice farmers, occupying for choice the best rice lands available, only rarely dwelling on the mountains, and unskilled in the types of husbandry appropriate for mountaineers. Almost all the other non-

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the consequence of the long and almost complete isolation 582
of the Min Chia districts. Few immigrants came to Ta Li, and very few Ta Li men went out into the larger world beyond the mountains. Now, when a motor road has been made connecting the city both with K'un Ming and Burma, and many refugees of good social status are coming to live in the remote security of the Min Chia country, it may be that opinions will change. The educated Min Chia may find that their failure to conform with Chinese standards of exogamy excites ridicule and contempt, and the custom of marrying paternal cousins, at least, may be abandoned by the wealthier class. It is unlikely however, that such influences will make themselves felt with the peasantry.

The worship of a common *Ber Dser*, or Founder gives a 621
sense of unity to a village in which more than one name 631
group dwells, and the solidarity of the village is further reinforced by institutions which permit the villagers to govern themselves in almost every matter. The government maintains no police force in the rural districts, nor any paid officials. In recent years, as part of the campaign to restore order and suppress banditry, the system known as *Pao Chia*, or "Family Guarantee" was introduced into Yunnan as in other provinces. This system, a modern version of one of the famous reforms of the eleventh century statesman Wang Anshih of the Sung Dynasty, is devised to make the villages responsible for strangers and travellers who come among them and so check the free movement of bandits. Three or four villages are combined to form a unit called a *chu*, an area, over which presides a *chu chang* or district headman, who is appointed by the *Hsien* Magistrate, but is usually also the headman of one of the villages in his *chu*. The headmen of each of these villages are obliged to report to him the movements of strangers and any disturbances which may occur, and he in turn informs the magistrate. Each village is sub-

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divided into groups of five families who are mutually responsible for each other's behaviour, and in duty bound to report misdemeanours to the village headman. In very populous villages the groups of five families are further combined in groups of fifty families under the headman of the villages.

This system gives the government information and places responsibility on the shoulders of a definite number of individuals who cannot evade it, but the actual working of the organisation depends on the villagers themselves, and their headmen or elders, who are chosen by them, and not appointed by the government. The elders or headmen are chosen when vacancies occur by the resident heads of families, and the office is tenable for life. If the elder should prove very unsatisfactory he can be deposed, or ignored by the villagers, since his authority has no real legal foundation and can only be exercised by the consent and co-operation of his fellow-villagers. This authority is none the less extensive. The elders can call upon the village levy to chase or apprehend a criminal, and it is they who decide how the government demands for forced labour shall be met. The forced labour system, which is sometimes represented almost as a form of servitude, is really to be regarded as a form of taxation, the peasants being called upon to give their strength rather than their money for the service of the state. It is obvious that if the state were to hire labour for all the public works now carried out by forced labour, taxation would have to be increased far above the present levels, as may be seen by comparing the rates of taxation in Yunnan with those in adjoining Burma, where the government has to pay wages for labour done on public works.

When a large scale work is in progress such as the building of the motor road to Burma, the government decrees that each *hsien* along the route, or in the vicinity, must supply so many men, or rather workers (since women are used on

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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one sheep is sacrificed for prayer to avoid insect pests and for thanksgiving for their coming crops. The third occasion is called the "West Wind" ceremony. It is held around October, and one sheep is sacrificed for the purpose of praying that no west wind may destroy their crops, or a thanksgiving that no west wind has destroyed their crops. The fourth ceremony is called "Closing Mountain" Ceremony. It is held sometime in November, in which in some localities six sheep or one cow is sacrificed as a final thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest, and from that time on the mountains are closed by snow, and no one can go in until after the "Opening Mountain" ceremony the next spring.

These are only a few examples to illustrate how climatic and geographic factors are limiting the economic resources, the characteristics, the mode of living, and the mode of thinking of the people.

I wish to mention how the tribes people, as affected by their climatic and geographical environments, have created two great problems for the government of Li-fan County:

I. The hugeness of the area, the difficulties in transportation, and the variations in topography and in climate have divided the county into a number of isolated islands of communities who have independently been moulded by their individual environments into different social groups, and the county government is not able to get its influence to radiate far into the inaccessible places. Thus, even today, the part of the county that is under the direct control of the county government is really the region between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao Mountain. The rest of the area is still under the rule of T'u-ssus. There are four T'u-ssus in Li-fan, governing nearly two thirds of the area of Li-fan. The tribes people under the rule of a T'u-ssu do not pay taxes to the government, and they do not obey the laws of the government. Therefore they are a constant source of trouble.

Owing to the high death rate and the decrease of population in the area, two of the T'u-ssus have died without heirs, not even a daughter to get a husband to take care of affairs. Another T'u-ssu has died but has a daughter, so the brother of the Wa-ssu T'u-ssu 瓦寺土司 of Wen-chwan is married in to be the T'u-ssu. There is really no one strong enough to head things up and affairs are in a rather chaotic situation. One local leader, Su 蘇, is trying to be the T'u-ssu of all. He has married two woman rulers, and is trying to get into power by marriage. That is a serious issue which the Li-fan government is facing because it is closely connected with the poppy cultivation problem.

II. The second problem is that of poppy cultivation. Perhaps most of you have heard of the armed conflict around Mao Hsien 茂縣 and Mao Kung 懋功 last summer. It is a question that cannot be settled by military force. Opium is the one thing that brings cash to the mountain people because the crops are not subject to destruction by bears and wild pigs. It is not bulky, and is therefore easy to carry through the dangerous mountain paths. What the people put in is relatively small, but what they gain is tremendous. In the valleys

Mewu

631 About one kilometer down the valley from this monastery city, a
443 small market town arose, inhabited mainly by Mohammedans. Nine
years ago the Chinese government made this the capital of the dis-
241 trict of Hsia-ho. Li An-che 5) gives a detailed description of Labrang.
231/7/ The Tibetans who live around Labrang are farmers. They grow Tibetan barley in the Hsia-ho Valley and its lateral valleys. If conditions are favorable, they also plant some wheat, as well as oats, peas, broad beans, rape and flax. They also raise yaks, sheep, goats, horses and pigs.

133 Not far south of Labrang the region of the high Tibetan steppe begins. Its southern boundary toward Hsik'ang and Szechuan is formed by the mighty Min-shan, a portion of the K'un-lun system. West of Labrang are the highlands of the Ch'inghai Province (Kokonor).

123 Above 3,000 meters vegetation gradually comes to an end, not,
24, however, peasant settlements. Even in the treeless, flat, trough-
231 shaped high valleys between 3,000 and 3,500 meters there are every-
361 where small villages of sedentary Tibetans. Here they grow Tibetan barley and oats, often the two crops mixed, as well as rape. With increasing altitude, cultivation gradually grows less, and from about 3,500 meters upward we find grassland inhabited only by stock farmers. (1)

1. Cf Ekvall 4), page 29.

177 Although the Tibetans who live here are under Chinese administration, they are nevertheless very independent of the Chinese, and are not very much influenced by Chinese culture. They are divided into individual tribes, one of which (the Mewu-Fantzu) we shall describe more closely in the following account.

131 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu lies south of the large lamasery of He-tso (2) and east of the "old" city of T'ao-chou. The tribe

2. Tafel 2) Vol. II gives a good illustration of the He-tso monastery

of the Mewu-Fantzu consists of sedentary as well as nomadic Tibetans. /8/

123 After I had lived in Labrang and He-tso for some time, I visited two monasteries belonging to the Mewu tribe: the old and the new Mewu monasteries (Mewu-chiu-szu and Mewu-hsin-szu). Then I pitched my tent 18 or 20 kilometers south of the latter monastery in a shallow valley of about 3,950 meters elevation. On the slope

587 a man by adoption, or if she marries into another family, her grown
428 son, rather than herself, is the heir. She herself has no right to the personal fortune of her deceased husband, even if she has no grown son. The property of her husband is distributed equally among relatives and neighbors of the deceased, under the chieftain's supervision; or the fu-yeh of the lamasery /74/ in the district in which the deceased lived inherits the property, which he re-sells if he cannot use it himself. The personal property of a deceased mother is divided equally among her daughters and daughters-in-law. If there are no female survivors, it is sold and the proceeds go to the nearest relatives.

631 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu was formerly part of the Tibetan province of Amdo which became the provinces of Ch'inghai and Kansu. We still use the word Amdo for the region that lies west of the pasturelands of the Mewu-Fantzu. Formerly the territory was governed from the old part of the city of T'ao-chou. After the district of Hsia-ho was founded 10 years ago, it came under that administration. The district city of Hsia-ho developed from the market town that sprang up next to Labrang Lamasery. The Fantzu who belong to the Labrang Lamasery are called Na-fan-örl-she-si-tsu, Tibetan: Labrang gomba (meaning "temple") chala-diebu, and the Mewu-Fantzu are a tribe originating from these. It is said that a total of 108 lamaseries are subordinate to the great incarnation at Labrang. Only three of these are in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu.

643 At the head of the Mewu-Fantzu is a tribal chieftain known as t'ou-mu, sometimes also t'u-szu; he has the title of Mewu-huan-pu. There are said to be 150 tent encampments under his jurisdiction, as well as the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu. A tent encampment consists of 10 to 40 tents. These figures seem very high to me, considering the extremely sparse settlement of the Mewu-Fantzu territory.

648 The t'ou-mu of the Mewu tribe is responsible to the Chinese district official (hsien-chang) of Hsia-ho in administrative matters, to the Huang-szu-ling (which may be roughly translated "General Huang"), i.e., the present t'u-szu of Labrang, in military matters, and to the Labrang Lamasery in religious matters.

"Huang-szu-ling" is the "t'u-szu" (feudal lord) of a large area, to which that of the Mewu-Fantzu belongs. Even after the fall of the Manchu Dynasty, the t'u-szu maintained considerable independence in the /75/ Chinese-governed border areas inhabited by non-Chinese peoples (Tibetans, Lolo, Tai). Taxes were paid to the t'u-szu, and in case of war they could recruit soldiers from their

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.

ST 302 191 The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.

ST ● 631 622 Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the S large monastery which is situated a little further along the ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be [651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was S certainly not friendly.

ST 177 It is curious how little impression the civilisation and customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress Gradually they will